

Other wooden articles

still made by the Cayapa include the */ašš/* 'bath cloth basket,' */aššš/* 'plantain basket,' and food stirrers of various types. A full listing and description can be had by consulting Barrett (Barrett 1921: 154-161). Elliptical wooden bowls called *haya* in Spanish, are cut from a single piece of wood, and they serve as trays for the preparation of some foods.

Musical instruments, which are played by the men, include the *maraca* or */aššš/*, a large drum called by the Spanish word *haya*, and a small free-standing drum that tapers at the base called *haya*. The Negroes use the same instruments, but they also use various gourd rattles and bamboo shakers. Guitars are occasionally found among the Negroes but only *saludo* among the Cayapa.

Painting. This art is scarcely practiced anywhere. In fact I was completely unaware that earthenware pots were in the household inventory at all until I was asked one day if I wished to purchase a small Cayapa-made one for five soles (.30 U.S.). This was the only pot I ever saw, except for the large *haya* made by the people of the *San Miguel* section, for the storage of */ašš/*, the fermented sugar-cane juice called *guarapo* in Spanish.

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CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Summary. The eliciting of kinship terminology among the Cayapa proved to be extremely difficult and time consuming. Many informants professed to be ignorant of many of the terms and clearly preferred to use Spanish nomenclature; however, sufficient data were collected to illustrate a major structural shift from Barrett's 1919 recording to the writer's 1960 notes. At present, the writer is unable to account for this shift in terms of Barrett's material and his own, as the residence and marriage patterns remain basically the same in the reports of the two investigators; however, there is some indication that new terminological forms were just beginning to come into the language in 1919. It is also known that the Cayapa tribe has undergone a process of fission, changing from one unit in 1919 to three in 1929 and four by 1940. We lack most of the vital details, but it is a reasonable assumption that changes in residence either went along with or followed the formation of the new groups.

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It is in respect to residence that changes in economy, technology, property, government, or religion first alter the structural relationships of related individuals to one another, giving an impetus to subsequent modifications in forms of the family. . . . and in kinship terminology. (Murdoch 1949:263).

Murdoch analyzed Barrett's kinship data and concluded that the Cayapa possess a bi-faction system and that there is an incipient transition toward normal Hawaiian reflected in alternative niece and cousin terms. (Murdoch 1949:228 table 61). My own data reveal an Iroquois type cousin terminology as defined by Murdoch (Murdoch 1949:223): Barrett records /nagpiku/ (written phonemically by the writer) for both the father's sister and the mother's sister. My own data show /nagpiku/ to be restricted to the mother's sister, while the term /m^hm^hu/ is used for the father's sister. Similarly, in Barrett's material the father's brother is equated with the mother's brother under three alternative terms: /apiku/, /apigi/, /yapigi/, whereas we recorded these terms only for the father's brother, while the mother's brother is called /m^hliya/. The terms, /m^hm^hu/ 'father's sister' and /m^hliya/ are discussed by Barrett:

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From one informant was obtained the term a'toiú, said to signify both aunt and uncle, and there was also obtained the term unyunyu, said to signify aunt. No verification could be obtained for either of these terms, which, combined with the fact that they are so at variance with the whole system of relationship, make them both seem very doubtful (Barrett 1929:335 note 16).

The terms that seemed deviant and doubtful in 1909 had become systematic by 1960: Barrett also recorded that the Cayapa equated the paternal cross-cousin with the maternal cross-cousin. In 1960, cross-cousins are equated and parallel-cousins are distinguished. Barrett recorded 'grandfather' as /ančápa/ whereas this writer recorded it as /aápa/. Barrett also used the term, /ančápa/, as meaning 'father-in-law,' which agreed with my recording. Terms used between in-laws are not recorded by Barrett, but I recorded /anča?tála/ as a reciprocal term for the two fathers-in-law. It would appear that the best translation for /anč-/ is 'in-law,' and /-tála/ is glossed as 'together.' Barrett's recording of 'grandfather' as /ančápa/ is an anomaly when compared to /aápa/, since /a/ means 'big' and /apa/ 'father.' One purpose of marriage for the Cayapa is to have children, and these children make the respective in-laws grandparents.

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Benjamin Paul, working on compadrazgo in Middle America, abstracted two basic principles of the institution; namely, the intensification of previously existing relationships, and the extension or creation of new ones (Paul 1942:56-57). Mintz and Wolf see the variations of the principles of intensification and extension that mark the areal spread of ritual co-parenthood to be a reflection of socio-cultural change and economic mobility (Mintz and Wolf 1950:358).

In cases where the community is a self-contained class, or tribally homogeneous, compadrazgo is prevailing horizontal (intra-class) in character. In cases where the community contains several interacting classes, compadrazgo will structure such relationships vertically (inter-class). Last, in a situation of rapid social change compadre mechanisms may multiply to meet the accelerated rate of change (Mintz and Wolf 1950:364).

Barrett's report of his 1909 field trip among the Cayapa indicates that only baptism and marriage were marked by compadrazgo (Barrett 1925:318, 324, 326).

We are not given any information by Barrett about the identity of the god-parents, except inferentially, that they were Indian and not Negro. Neither are we told about the identities of the god-parents of successive

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children in the same family--are they the same or different? Between 1909 and 1960 the population pattern of the Cayapa area has altered radically, and the socio-economic changes have been even more marked. If Mintz and Wolf are correct, we should expect to find as a result of rapid change, a multiplicity of compadres, and as the Negroes and the Cayapa form two classes, if not castes, we should expect a vertical extension of compadrazgo ties to include Negroes. The evidence presented by Barrett indicates that they were tribally homogeneous in his time, and compadrazgo was apparently horizontal. Despite the fact that there is no data to support me, I feel that the horizontal extension of ritual kinship during the time of Professor Barrett's study among the Cayapa was primarily, if not entirely, to reinforce previously existing kinship ties. At the present time, the Cayapa do indeed follow the pattern predicted by Mintz and Wolf, but the socio-economic causative factors are not as clear-cut as these authors believe them to be; still, they may be discerned in the Cayapa data and we can see the beginnings of a class structured society reflected in some of the legal decisions that deal with polygamy.

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At the present time the Cayapa, in common with most rural Ecuadorians, practice a ceremony of nail cutting that has ritual significance in the sense that god-parents are selected for the child, and the extension of ritual kinship follows as for the rites of baptism and marriage. This ceremonial occasion which is called simply /tyákihánu/, is a very minor ceremony that may be performed at almost any age from a few months to perhaps six years, or it may never be performed. Almost invariably the god-parents for this occasion are Negro. As Negroes are in political and economic control of the region, we can say that this is a vertical extension of ritual kinship. The Indian seldom asks a Negro to assume this obligation. Quite the contrary, Negroes generally ask the father of the child if he would like to enter into compadrazgo.

The actual ceremony is very simple. Only the participants are present as a rule. The nails are cut by the god-father, and the parings are placed in a glass of rum which is then drunk by the compadres. Small presents, such as a bottle of rum, some food, soft drinks, and tobacco, are exchanged. Thereafter, the

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known to one while living; however, there is one exception, this one being that one's /padónaŋpa/, the god-father of the wedding, who sees the newly arrived soul and calls its name. In heaven one is re-united with the god-father and not the father. This story indicates that the major relationship that is set up is between the bridal couple and the padrinos and not between compadres. The marriage padrinos tend to be of the same generation as the bridal couple, and the feeling is that it is best to select padrinos from within the kindred. Padrinos are always man and wife, so that if one wishes a particular individual to be his padrino, then his wife automatically becomes his padrina. If incest taboos did not apply before, they are now extended, and the children of all of the ritual-kin are forbidden to marry each other.

Except for remarriage, when it is permissible to choose new padrinos for the new marriage, it would appear that the ties of the marriage compadres could not multiply "to meet the accelerated rate of change." I have the slightest suggestion of evidence that indicates that this may very well be happening. I was

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never able to collect cases or to gather actual names, but some of my informants said that they had heard of people occasionally taking a new set of marriage padri-
nos. The feeling was that this could perhaps be done if the original padrinos gave their permission. In these cases, then, a person could have multiple marriage padrinos. It is most unfortunate that field work exigencies precluded following up these leads. In any event, compadrazgo among the Cayapa has shown itself to be a tremendously flexible instrument of societal ordering.

Religion. The Cayapa are a religious people who call themselves Catholic and are considered to be Catholic by the Church, albeit, "Children in the Faith." They know nothing of the practice of confession and this is not expected of them by the Church. The basic tenets of Catholicism with respect to baptism, marriage, and burial in the Church are followed faithfully by the Cayapa. Within a few months of birth children are taken to the coastal town of Limones or Esmeraldas for baptism. Most marriages are sanctified by a priest, and within a few weeks to a few months after death a special mass will be paid for by the nearest kin of the deceased.

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instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a mafimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

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were involved in the demise of the man and his children. Jesus, they say, never punishes people while they are living, and the fact of having been punished on earth by a tribal official in no way mitigates one's punishment after death. The young man may have been killed by witchcraft, but the Cayapa aver that this is not supernatural punishment, and he probably "just died for whatever reason."

When asked why widows could only marry widowers, the answer was invariably, "Jesus ordered it that way." According to my informant, the couple was permitted to return to the community because of the children. They were still considered to be living in sin, but they had been punished, and now the matter was in the hands of Jesus. The /únYá/ had applied the law as far as he could. He could do no more. In a way very similar to the cases of polygyny, to be discussed in the next chapter, an innovation had been introduced into the community--a new behavioral pattern was available for emulation! For the Cayapa, the realm of sin seems to be the most fruitful for cultural change.

Divorce. Divorce is theoretically prohibited

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they dwell on, are attracted to, and are repulsed by sexual involvements. In this, they agree with the missionaries, and if the missionaries call this area of life sinful, the Cayapa can readily agree. We shall see that it is in the realm of sexual deviancy and in the attempts made by Cayapa lawmen to come to grips with it that the most sweeping socio-cultural changes take place.

Incest. Incest is generally viewed by the Cayapa as being particularly heinous. In the olden days, it is asserted, when the Cayapa lived in one village at Pueblo Viejo, anyone guilty of such a crime would be placed suspended over a table which was covered with lighted candles, and then, slowly roasted to death. While this may be apocryphal, it does indicate strong negative feelings towards incestuous behavior. The Cayapa are very clear about this and state that incest is a sin, that it goes against Jesus' commandments and must be punished. Barrett recorded the following case which indicates that the punishment was still severe if not as extreme:

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The incestuous widow. The widow of the late /mʔi/, Arcilio, became pregnant by the son of Arcilio's brother, Arcide. They were both sentenced to fifty lashes but the boys' mother complained that this was too much, and that thirty lashes would be sufficient for her son. No one spoke up for the widow, and so she received the full fifty lashes for incest, even though prior to her marriage to the late /mʔi/ she and the boy were not related.

As sexual matters fall into the realm of sin for the Cayapa, a determined sinner, in the last analysis, can only be handled by God and not by law. The Cayapa are unable to cope effectively with a determined deviant, in most instances. Attitudes towards incest outside of the nuclear family seem to be changing, as illustrated in the following case.

When incest is no longer incest. Lorenzo Añapa of the Rio Camerozo was married to his /ɔ́ginetarihki/, 'father's brother's daughter.' They lived together for two months and then left to attend a fiesta at Punta Yucayo. Camilio Blanco notified the /mʔi/, Arcilio, who ordered that they each be whipped forty lashes.

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Lorenzo was then told to give up his cousin, but when they all returned home from the fiesta, he took her back immediately. Meanwhile, a woman was sent down from Sapallo Grande to him, but he refused her, saying that he already had a wife. His wife's father said that he did not mind if Lorenzo married his daughter, and the girl's brother, Iru, said that he was in favor of the marriage, and added, "they are not very close relatives anyway." Since the family of the girl did not object to this marriage, people did not gossip much, and Arcilio said that he would not punish them again, that "Jesus would know what to do when they died."

Lorenzo had a reputation for being a good worker, and his cousin's family were happy to keep his economic services within the family. Their insistence that it was all proper and that, as first cousins, they were not closely related anyway was such a strong violation of Cayapa thought regarding incest that the couple were placed beyond the power of the law, ultra vires, and the burden of punishment was shifted to the supernatural. We stated that anyone who witnesses an

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incestuous act performed by strangers or members of his family will make the act known. There is one exception reported. A truly determined deviant as was Pablo Candalehu can get away with repeated incest.

The determined incestuous couple. Pablo Candalehu had been committing incest with his sister, who later gave birth to twins. Pablo took these new-born infants and threw them into the river, but the bodies were found by a Negro who went to the Teniente Político. The police came and arrested Pablo and his sister, resulting in their being fined, as well as jailed for a year. After their release from jail, they came to Encanto, where they continued living together. People gossiped and Pablo's "uncle" Gerardo, went to the Rio Onzole, to get him a wife. Three months later they found a husband for his sister in San Miguel. When Pablo's sister later died, her husband did not cry at her funeral, claiming that he did not feel any grief because the woman was really her brother's wife and not his own. He then related at the funeral how once when he was out fishing at night, he came back to the house very quietly with the lamp extinguished and heard Pablo making love

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to his sister.

Here again, Pablo's determination placed him beyond the pale of Cayapa law. His brother-in-law apparently realized the futility of making a public complaint and unburdened himself only at his wife's funeral.

Adultery. As with incest, decisions rendered in cases of adultery require a firm declaration on the part of the official trying the case that the behavior is abhorrent and sinful; however, the punishment seems to be somewhat more lax than is the case with incest, and more feeling seems to be present that women are the aggressors in adultery. The following case was witnessed by the writer during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado in 1959.

The philandering captain and his light punishment. The /in^yi/, Gabriel, was in his hammock, quite drunk, and a group of men were standing around him speaking drunkenly in Cayapa. Suddenly, everyone dashed to a corner of the house and looked over to an adjacent dwelling where a fracas was in progress. A woman was beating and berating another woman who offered no

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Polygamy. Max Heiman stated that "Die Cayapa leben in sehr harmonischer Ehe, Weibweiberei . . . gibt es bei ihnen nicht" (Heiman 1931:284). If the situation of pristine monogamy were true in 1931 or earlier in 1909, when Barrett reported nothing in the way of polygamy, it was certainly not true in 1960. To account for the change, we can look towards the expanding money economy that began to envelop the Cayapa several decades ago. Between 1931 and 1960, an economic factor of tremendous magnitude developed in Ecuador. Bananas began to be commercially valuable and in the boom period of the late 1940's and early 1950's the best prices were always to be had near the coast, and it was from the coastal areas that most of the following cases came.

Cristobal uses his brother as a pawn to get a second wife. Cristobal, who lived at Yicha, was a brujo or 'witch.' He came up from the coast one time to cure Margarita of an illness. She was single at the time. During the night while the curing session was going on, Cristobal seduced his patient. Later he asked her father to let him deliver her to his brother in Yicha and the father agreed. When they arrived at Yicha, it appeared

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the San Pedro. In fact, she said that she planned to go there with her late husband's brother. Her complaint was that the Rosenda household was "sad, bad, much crying and beating." She wanted to leave her husband permanently. According to my informants, this would be a valid divorce, considering the polygynous circumstances, and she could then remarry. She had left Rosenda without her children, because "the father did not send them along," and therefore within a few days she returned home to Rosenda. It was being said at the time that Rosenda was looking for a third wife.

The area around Chilipe is a bustling center of the banana trade, and the Cayapa who live there are very well off financially. The people of the San Miguel section are the furthest removed from the banana trade and from time to time go to the coastal areas to work. Sometimes they work for whites and sometimes for Negroes, but mostly they seek work on Cayapa-owned land. For the first time non-related Cayapa may live and work together and opportunities for liaisons are greatly increased. In some instances, as in the following case, they end in a polygynous marriage.

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weddings, and the cousin aided by another son, severely
tortured Remade. After this, they sent the second
wife to another Cayuga in Quindío. That same day
Remade and his first wife left to return to Quindío.

The party held "for visiting" is worth noting
because Cayuga never just visit among themselves. A
new pattern is developing in the coastal regions where
groups of unrelated Cayuga are brought together in a
live-in arrangement that is quite foreign to the tradi-
tional patterns. "Visitors formed the central back-
ground"--an indicator of the newly developing situation.
It must also be noted that Remade was a member of the
Partido Revolucionario and the official who ordered him shipped
was from the Fuerzas Armadas section, and the second
wife, who was also shipped, was from the San Rafael
section. The official did not have the second wife
sent away, and it can only be surmised that there were
no single men locally available for her. Remade was
not able to keep the second wife single because he was
not alone enough to do so. It is becoming absolutely
clear that the Cayuga cannot come to grips with a
domestic arrangement. The following case illustrates
this in terms of polygamy.

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events in the outside world of commerce and government. For example, because of Segundo's ability to speak Spanish proficiently, he served as a threat to his father-in-law. One can visualize him doing nothing more than shouting at the old man in Spanish with the result that his father-in-law would be completely terrorized. Segundo could describe the dire straits in which the old man would find himself if Segundo went to the authorities, and the old man would unquestionably believe him.

Trivinio Cortes claimed that a man named Cristobal Sandoval of Quinta has two wives, as does Cristobal's brother. It may very well be that Cristobal Tapullo and Cristobal Sandoval are one and the same. In any event, Trivinio claims "they have both been punished but permitted to keep the second wives because who would take care of the children?" "In the old days, the man and woman were burned to death, as people were very angry. Nowadays, they do not get very angry about such things." While people do not demand that the culprits be burned, they do get upset and on occasion even non-kia will attempt to take matters into their own hands, as in the following case.

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father, and they argued. Roberto claimed that he needed two wives, and, being a rich hijab, he could afford them. Furthermore, the second wife could supply him with children. Romeo's father replied that Roberto should know well what he was doing in his own heart, and after death, Jesus would punish him.

The case materials so far presented indicate that the polygamists and would-be polygamists have been wealthy and powerful dissidents. The following case of Segundo Alapa is a contrary instance that portends of major changes to come.

First man attempted polygamy. Julio Tapella who lived a short distance below Segundo Alapa had a crippled left arm. His wife, Maria Cimarola, deserted him for another man named Segundo Alapa. Segundo who lived near Eliza Alapa on the Rio Jarama was already married to Petrona Cimarola who was not related to Maria. Despite the objections of his first wife, he and Maria lived together for over a month. A "sister" of Petrona met Aurelio who is one of the Adelitas from the Rio Jarama; she met him when he was bringing in bananas for sale directly to the boat at San Antonio.

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Segundo did not reply. In the crowd the women went around, "per queta," for pleasure. *Just translated* here as, "for the hell of it." They both received two hundred and fifty lashes, and as a Cayapa woman does not live by plants alone, Gabriel advised Julio to spend more money on his wife.

Again it is seen that Cayapa women are capable of direct action, but much more important, a case of polygamy had been successfully legally quashed. Compare, however, the severity of the sentence with that of Baganda: two hundred and fifty lashes versus twenty, plus a thirty guinea fine. Cayapa law can handle the "little man." It is almost as if polygamy were becoming quasi-respectable. Gabriel implied that Segundo had no need for another wife, since he had children. The lack of follow-up action directed against the rich and powerful and the severe quashing that Segundo received may signal the formation of a class-structured society wherein polygamy is legally restricted to the wealthy. In any event, the chief in discussing with us all of the on-going cases of polygamy presented above denied his responsibility. He said that even though all of them were living in sin, everything was actually

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all right because these cases had been "settled" previously by the late *Aspirin*, *Aspirin*.

The complaint there seems to be that a truly detained wrong-doer cannot be handled within the legal framework, and his punishment is shifted to the realm of the supernatural. This results in a de facto acceptance of the illegal act that may be very profitable of greater change ultimately leading to de facto acceptance in terms of legal decisions.

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manifestations? The psychoanalytic frame of reference regarding homosexuality is directly relevant for the Cayapa.

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The wish to have a larger penis, in general reflects a feeling of unacceptability and inadequacy, in particular a feeling of sexual inadequacy; a belief, usually unconsciously held, that sexual functioning has been injured and is vulnerable to further injury; a wish to supersede other males who are feared and regarded as superior. The wish for a larger penis and excessive fearfulness is significantly associated . . . (Blüher 1963: 181).

The Cayapa tell a story of an ogre who is very ugly and black and looks like a Negro; he has a very long penis with which he kills women. Here we see all of the requisite feelings for a predisposition to homosexuality as well as an expression of underlying Cayapa-Negro attitudes, marked, from the point of view of the Cayapa, by fear, aggression, envy, and sexual inadequacy.

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Manifest homosexuality would be a behavioral innovation, requiring of its innovator extraordinary determination, very much akin to the persistent and determined polygynous and incestuous behavior that has been noted in the legal material. It appears that one

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of the main requirements for homosexuality is a profound feeling of fear and inadequacy, hardly the sort of person who would persistently and doggedly pursue this rather striking innovation. It should be noted that the Cayapa flatly deny the existence of homosexual practices. Just once did an informant admit that "maybe some boys" practiced mutual masturbation.

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In the recently built Indian school at Encanto, boys and young men now maintain, for several months of the school year, a high frequency of interaction with non-related boys, and for some, very intense feelings of chumship are beginning to form that never existed before. Given the increase in duration and frequency of interaction, homoeroticism could very easily pass over into homosexuality.

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Friendship is a most novel situation for the Cayapa and he cannot easily function within it. In his dealings with Negroes, rules of ritual kinship may obtain or a hail-fellow-well-met stance may be adopted. The anthropologist-Cayapa situation was completely new, especially in the informant relationship. This was the closest approach to friendship, in the western sense, that they had ever experienced.

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solution and serves to exclude the chief from entangling alliances with one party as opposed to the other. Whether this serves to enhance the position of the chief in his role as third person in the legal process, is not clear. Aubert (1963) believes that mediating decisions foster independence for the third party office, as well as increased prestige. Structurally, the office of */un^y1/* is an independent one that does not permit the formation of alliances with groups that are virtually impossible to form anyway, given the social and psychological structure of Cayapa culture.

In the legal materials dealing with land it is seen that all of the parties to the dispute were in complete agreement as to the nature of land and its ownership. Conflict does not involve different value positions on the part of the disputants but rather individuals are competing for scarce goods that embody shared cultural values. Polygyny among the Cayapa represents a mixture of competing interests, as in land disputes, and also some lack of agreement as to what the basic issues and values are. Women are valued goods, in a sense, that at present are in scant supply. A compromise solution, as in land disputes, is not

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possible to reach, inasmuch as the religious element of sin is also a factor, and the /un/ cannot condemn sin. We must condemn the parties involved in the polygynous marriage. The dispute does not involve a conflict of interests, as in the land cases, but rather new values that markedly conflict with traditional values. The individuals holding the new values refuse to accept an aligned decision, that is, a decision based in effect on an "alliance" with the believers of the traditional values. Ultimately, if the unilateral decision against polygyny cannot be enforced, it is superseded by de facto compromise. Thus, if the parties have been punished once but persist in their sinful behavior, further punishment is left to God, and the polygynous union may continue.

For cases of incest and adultery, the conflict of interest, although present, is minimal. In addition, conflicting values are not an issue, as no one seriously presents a new value position that encourages incest and adulterous behavior. The nature of incest and adultery is such that a compromise solution, while not impossible perhaps, is improbable. In these cases, where sinful behavior is at issue, the official can adopt a unilateral

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non-compromise position. Persistence in transgression, however, is tantamount to the defense of new value positions that leads to de facto compromise. The Cayapa judge, with the legal avenues that are open to him, cannot handle a strong personality, that is, one that either develops new values, as the polygynist, or the one that refuses to be deterred from wrongdoing, as in the case of the persistently incestuous couple.

Eventually, de facto compromise may assume the dignity of social acceptance. The effective restraint of the poor would-be polygynist, as opposed to the de facto acceptance of the wealthy polygynists, may lead to the formation of class distinctions; that is, a wealthy man will be permitted to have more than one wife but a poor man will not be permitted to enjoy this privilege. Normally, it would be expected that incest could achieve social acceptance only with great difficulty, but from an examination of the case of Lorenzo Chapo (p. 159) it becomes clear that the incest range for some people is narrowing considerably, for in this case the incestuous arrangement has been given the express approval of the families concerned and de facto

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compromise on the part of the fuji permits the continuation of this union.

Many things somewhat beyond the ordinary cannot be handled directly, but only by means of de facto compromise or latently. Every society is an action system that in one degree or another utilizes specific innovations for definite ends. Often, the latent functions of an innovation incur more sweeping changes than do the manifest ones. For example, the manifest function of the Indian school was to increase literacy. Its latent function was to increase homosexual behavior. The cultural emphasis for the Cayapa seems to be that of latency, and sweeping changes come about, not because they are sought, but because the sociopsychological matrix of the law can only permit de facto acceptance of threats to basic values.

Cayapa law, in terms of de jure decisions is not at all able to "redefine relations between individuals and groups as the conditions of life change" (Shelley 1954:175). Cayapa culture is not, however, unaltered. Extraordinary socio-cultural changes are taking place particularly because the law cannot accommodate

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easily to new economic changes and value positions which are redefining relationships between people. The redefining of a situation, or the creation of a new structural arrangement, very often involves legislation or political behavior. For the Cayapa, new definitions and new structural arrangements cannot be legislated through de jure decisions; nor can they take place through primary political involvement due to the paucity of strategic political possibilities inherent in a bilateral system that lacks corporate bodies which may be utilized in the formation of alliances; rather, they take place by means of de facto compromise.

Some authorities maintain that political behavior involves the "formation of new principles of organization" (Siverts 1960). That is, groups or individuals who have differing ideological or value commitments attempt to restructure society. In these terms, Cayapa behavior is not so much political as governmental. It is concerned mainly with the maintenance of stability and the status quo. Such political behavior as is found among the Cayapa apparently stems from periods of uncertainty that are in part sociological and in part psychological. When a new /un/ takes the reins

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When a new /ún'yi/ takes the reins ²⁴⁴

of authority, his individual personality and behavior, complicated by the cultural emphasis on heavy drinking, will effect the complementarity of expectations between the /ún'yi/ and the people. If there is a lack of conformity between the behavior of the /ún'yi/ and the expectancies of the people, there will be an effort on the part of individuals to effect conformity by engaging in moralizing, gossiping, nagging, and threats to shift allegiance to other authorities--all directed against one man, the /ún'yi/. The aim of all of these kinds of behavior is to return to the status quo ante, when the late /ún'yi/ was the image of true leadership. As the new /ún'yi/ is pressured into modifying his behavior in the direction of the cultural expectancies, the agitation and political behavior will diminish.

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